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When the war will end



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WHEN THE WAR WILL END



"This War will come to an end when the Allied Powers have reached the aims which they set out to attain when they accepted the challenge thrown down by Germany."

MR. LLOYD GEORGE AT GLASGOW, JUNE 29, 1917.

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MR. LLOYD GEORGE has broken a long silence with one of those resounding calls to the spirit, the sense, and the patriotic instinct of the nation of which he has the secret, and which have done much to make him what he is to-day. The positive objects of this country and its Allies are fully known to the world, and the Prime Minister speaks for us all in making it clear that the war will be carried on until the sure foundations of liberty and reparation are laid for an enduring peace. — *Daily Telegraph*, June 30, 1917.

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When the War will End

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S SPEECH AT GLASGOW

29 JUNE, 1917

NEVER did men stand more in need of sympathy and support of co-operation than the men who are guiding the fate of nations at this hour. In all lands we have been called to the helm in a raging tornado, the most destructive that has ever swept over the world on land or sea. Britain so far has weathered the storm. The hurricane is not yet over, and it will need all the efforts, all the skill, all the patience, all the courage, all the endurance of all on board to steer the country through without foundering in the angry deep. But with the co-operation of everybody we will guide it through once again. It is a satisfaction for Britain in these terrible times that no share of the responsibility for these events rests on her. She is not the Jonah in this storm. The part taken by our country in this conflict, in its origin, and in its conduct, has been as honourable and chivalrous as any part ever taken in any country in any operation. We might imagine from declarations which were made by the Germans, aye! and even by a few people in this country, who are constantly referring to our German comrades, that this terrible war was wantonly and wickedly provoked by England—never Scotland—never Wales—and never Ireland. Wantonly provoked by England to increase her possessions, and to destroy the influence, the power, and the prosperity of a dangerous rival.

WHEN THE WAR WILL END

There never was a more foolish travesty of the actual facts. It happened three years ago, or less, but there have been so many bewildering events crowded into those intervening years that some people might have forgotten, perhaps, some of the essential facts, and it is essential that we should now and again restate them, not merely to refute the calumniators of our native land, but in order to sustain the hearts of her people by the unswerving conviction that no part of the guilt of this terrible bloodshed rests on the conscience of their native land. What are the main facts? There were six countries which entered the war at the beginning. Britain was last, and not the first. Before she entered the war Britain made every effort to avoid it; begged, supplicated, and entreated that there should be no conflict. I was a member of the Cabinet at the time, and I remember the earnest endeavours we made to persuade Germany and Austria not to precipitate Europe into this welter of blood. We begged them to summon a European conference to consider. Had that conference met arguments against provoking such a catastrophe were so overwhelming that there would never have been a war. Germany knew that, so she rejected the conference, although Austria was prepared to accept it. She suddenly declared war, and yet we are the people who wantonly provoked this war, in order to attack Germany. We begged Germany not to attack Belgium, and produced a treaty, signed by the King of Prussia, as well as the King of England, pledging himself to protect Belgium against an invader, and we said, "If you invade Belgium we shall have no alternative but to defend it." The enemy invaded Belgium, and now they say, "Why, forsooth, you, England, provoked this war."

THE WOLF AND THE LION.

It is not quite the story of the wolf and the lamb. I will tell you why—because Germany expected to find a lamb and found a lion. So much for our responsibility for war, and it is necessary that the facts should be stated and restated, because I want us to carry on this war with a pure, clear conscience to the end. But you will ask

WHEN THE WAR WILL END

me what progress we are making with the war, and I mean to tell you my view of that.

I am steeped every day, morning, noon, and night, in the perplexities and difficulties and the anxieties of this grim business, but all the same I feel confident. The difficulties are there to be overcome, the anxieties to be faced, the disappointments to be persevered through. What is the present military position? No doubt startling events in Russia modified the military situation this year, temporarily to our disadvantage, but permanently for the better. What has happened recently on both the Western fronts shows what could have been accomplished this year if all the Allied Forces had been ready to bring an all-round pressure to bear. In training, in experience, in equipment, our Army is infinitely better than it has ever been.

SUPERIORITY OF THE ALLIED ARMIES.

The finest collection of trench-pounding machinery which any army has ever seen is now in the possession of the British Forces. You have only to look at what happened at the Vimy Ridge and Messines Ridge. Fortifications which had defied the power of the British and French Armies for two or three years were swept away by our great attack and by the gallant onslaught of our Allies. The valour of the French troops against the dense hordes of German troops must have impressed all as a conspicuous example of what that great nation is capable of, and there are the brilliant achievements of our Italian comrades, who, with dash, courage, and skill, storm great Alpine heights in the teeth of some of those legions of Austria.

This is what has been achieved this year. We have demonstrated the superiority of the Allied armies in all these great conflicts, but no doubt we have for the moment had to deal with this difficulty, that the internal distractions in Russia had not enabled the Russian army to put forth the whole of its strength which we otherwise had expected. Broken divisions from the West have been taken to the East, and fresh divisions from the East have been brought back to the West, and the same thing applies to the German and the Austrian artillery. The Russian revolution, beneficent as it undoubtedly is, and

WHEN THE WAR WILL END

undoubtedly great as will be its results both this year and even more hereafter, has had the effect of postponing a complete victory.

Revolution is a fever brought about by the constant and reckless disregard of the laws of health in the government of a country. Whilst it is on the strength of a country is diverted to the internal conflict which is raging in its blood, and it is naturally not so effective for external use during the period. The patient takes some time to recover his normal temperature, but when he begins to recover, if his constitution is good—and the Russian nation has as fine a constitution as any nation ever possessed in all the essence of fine manhood—then he will regain strength at a bound, and will be mightier and more formidable than ever.

RUSSIA AND THE VICTORY.

That is the case in Russia: although this distraction has had the effect of postponing complete victory, it has made victory more sure than ever, more complete than ever. What is more important, it has made surer than ever the quality of the victory we will gain. What do I mean when I say it has ensured a better quality of victory, because that is important? I will tell you why. There were many of us whose hearts were filled with gloomy anxiety when we contemplated all the prospects of a great peace conference summoned to settle the future of democracy with one of the most powerful partners at that table the most reactionary autocracy in the world. I remember very well discussing the very point with one of the greatest of the French statesmen, and he had great misgivings as to what would happen now that Russia is unshackled. Russia is free, and the representatives of Russia at the Peace Congress will be representatives of a free people, fighting for freedom, arranging the future of democracy on the lines of freedom. That is what I mean when I say that not merely will the Russian revolution ensure more complete victory, it will ensure victory of the highest and more exalted than any one could have contemplated before.

WHEN THE WAR WILL END

I ventured in August, 1915, to launch into the realms of prophecy, rather a dangerous thing to do; but if you will allow me I will quote what I said then about Russia. I referred to the great Russian defeat by the German forces. The Russian armies were broken, the Russian armies were in full retreat, and things looked darker than they had ever done in the whole course of the war. "The Eastern sky is dark and lowering, the stars have been clouded over. I regard the stormy horizon with anxiety, but with no dread. To-day I can see the colour of a new hope beginning to empurple the sky. The enemy in their victorious march know not what they are doing. Let them beware, for they are unshackling Russia. With their immense artillery they are shattering the rusty bars, the fetters, from the strength of the people of Russia. You can hear them shaking their powerful limbs free from the stifling débris, and preparing for the conflict with a new spirit. They are hammering a sword that will destroy them, and freeing a great nation which will wield it with a more potent stroke and mightier sweep than it ever yet commanded."

AUTOCRACY'S OVERTHROW.

That little speech got me into trouble with the Russian Court, but it is exactly what has happened. That was the beginning of the end for autocracy, and Russia and the Russian people felt that the system which had brought such disaster upon them could not be safely entrusted in future with the honour of that great nation. Russia is now free; Russia is now unfettered; and when the distractions are passed away Russia will be more powerful, Russia will be more formidable than ever, because in Russia in future the whole of her power will be cast on the side of liberty and democracy, and not of autocracy.

Meanwhile, France, Italy, and ourselves have to bear the greatest share of the burden, and I should like to say to those who hailed the Russian revolution with delight, as well as condemning and doing their best to thwart the military efforts of their own country, that but for these military efforts the Russian revolution would have had no chance to fructify. What would have happened if we had not been

WHEN THE WAR WILL END

ready, if we had not had this great Army prepared, if we had not possessed such enormous equipment? I tell you what would have happened. Germany would have concentrated one desperate effort to overwhelm free democracy in France whilst Russia was engaged in the troubles of her revolution, and whilst the new democracy was arising in the East the old democracy in the West, the great old democracy of France, would have been strangled. How long do you think the new democracy, the new democracy of the East, would have survived it? Not long. And you would have had one great outstanding military autocracy in Europe governing from the East to the West, and only these little islands standing between the world and disaster.

AMERICA THE HOPE OF FREEDOM.

I would counsel those who criticise the measures we have taken to mobilise the strength of this country—strong measures, ruthless measures, if you will; interfering measures, if you will, but measures which will accomplish their purpose—I would counsel those who criticise, therefore, the action we have taken in mobilising the strength of this country to dwell upon the catastrophe—I repeat it, the catastrophe—that would have befallen the free democracies throughout the world if we had not done so. It was Britain, the strength of Britain flung into the breach, that has once more saved Europe and human liberties. Even during the last few weeks, when Russia was not ready, we defeated the German army at its strongest and at its boastfullest. Now Russia is gaining strength every day. It has got a capable, strong Government of able, patriotic men guiding its destinies. Russia never had a better Government than the men who are now wielding the power, and her armies will fight henceforth with that power which is inspired by freedom.

And America, always the mainstay and the hope of freedom; America, who never engaged in a war yet, except for freedom—America is beginning to send her valiant sons to the battlefields of Europe to fight around the standards of liberty. That is why I say that although victory may have been postponed by the events of the last few months in Russia, victory is more

WHEN THE WAR WILL END

complete, victory on higher lines than ever we could have hoped.

It is assured under two conditions. The first is, the submarine attacks must be defeated, or kept within reasonable bounds. They may, and probably will, drive us to further restrictions in some trades, perhaps to hardships, but all depends on the nation, for after carefully reckoning the chances, the probabilities, the Government have come to the conclusion, on the best advice that we can see, that submarines can neither starve us at home nor drive our armies out of the field abroad.

"GETTING" THE SUBMARINES.

In the words of the song, despite the worst they can do, "Britain will rule the waves" through the war and after the war. Our losses in May and June were heavy, but they were hundreds of thousands of tons beneath the Admiralty forecast of what they would be. We are beginning to get them. The arrangements that have been made for frustrating them and for destroying them are improving, and I have no hesitation in saying that if we all do our part the German submarine will be almost as great a failure as the German Zeppelin. You might be driven to eat less wheat and more barley and oats, the food of the men and women who made Scotland. Yes, and made my little country, too. That was our food as boys, and it has given all the staying power one has. I am running the war on the stock of energy which I accumulated on that fare when I was young, and I am not going to weep over the hardships of a country which is driven back to oats and barley. (A Voice: "Gie's a haggis.") We were never able to aspire to those luxuries in Wales. We never got further than a bannock. If we do not waste we shall not starve. We have succeeded in increasing the production of the food of this country even during the present year, and I was glad to see coming across country how determined the people are that whatever happens they will not be short of potatoes in the coming months. That is the right spirit. We are engaged in a great shipbuilding programme, a shipbuilding

WHEN THE WAR WILL END

programme for fighting as well as for carrying, but here the Clyde comes in. We have heard of the Battle of the Marne. This is the Battle of the Clyde. If employers and workmen pull together and pull with all their might, between them they will pull us through.

THE KAISER'S DISCOVERY.

What is the next condition? The moral of the nation must be kept up. That is essential. The Army is invincible. It cannot be beaten. That is one of the discoveries of the Kaiser. It has been a costly one. He had the greatest army in the world. They were always talking about trampling down any army that confronted them. So far they have done nothing but retreat. Our Army is great, and the Army now is the people. There is hardly a household which has not contributed to the Army. It is a sample of the people God planted in these islands. We can view with pride the achievements of our Army. I am not afraid of the Army, but take care that the spirit of the people behind them is as good as that of the Army. If not, it affects the Army. I met a young fellow who had been in the fighting at Vimy, and at Arras, and he said, "We came back, and we were all so cheerful. We saw the Huns"—so he called them—"running for four or five miles before British bayonets. We stormed positions that defied armies for two or three years, and we were so cheerful when we came back, and then we picked up the papers full of grumblings and groushings from England." His conclusion was a memorable one. "You will never give us a chance of being cheerful." That is not fair to the Army. After all, everybody is doing his best within human limitations—generals, officers, soldiers, admirals, sailors, officials, employers, workmen, yea, Ministers of the Crown. Forgive me for saying it, we are doing our best in our way. I cannot see any slackening or indolence anywhere, and will you allow me to say there is one man who is working as hard as the hardest worked man in this country, and that is the Sovereign of this realm.

[At this point the audience rose en masse and sang the National Anthem.]

WHEN THE WAR WILL END

I am quite sure his Majesty the King will appreciate the fact that the citizens of Glasgow realise the contribution he is making to the work of the nation under these trying conditions.

I wanted to say something about the terms of peace. When you get your victory what use are you going to make of it? There are people asking when are you going to bring this war to an end, how are you going to bring it to an end, and when you have brought it to an end what end do you want for it? All of them justifiable questions, and all of them demanding reasonable answer, and I propose to make my contribution to the solution of these direct and searching questions. In my judgment this war will come to an end when the Allied Powers have reached the aims which they set out to attain when they accepted the challenge thrown down by Germany to civilisation.

THE TERMS OF PEACE.

These aims were set out recently by President Wilson with his unrivalled gift of succinct and trenchant speech. As soon as these objectives are reached, and guaranteed, this war ought to come to an end. But if it comes to an end a single hour before it will be the greatest disaster that has ever befallen mankind. I hear there are people going about the country saying, "Germany is prepared to give you peace now. An honourable peace, and a satisfactory peace." Well, let us examine that. What if it is true? Then it would be criminal if we sacrificed more precious life and treasure and prolonged the wretchedness and anxiety and suffering associated with the war. No doubt you can have peace. You can have peace now. Germany will give us peace now, at a price. Germany wants peace. Even Prussia ardently desires it. They do not enjoy seeing their veteran soldiers hurled back time after time by what they regard as an amateur Army. It does not give them pleasure. It does not rouse their enthusiasm. It does not make them eager to get more of it. They do not like to see their crack regiments prisoners of war and hundreds of their cannon captured. It is humiliating to fall

WHEN THE WAR WILL END

back constantly, and they say, "Yield a little territory here and a little land there, and just a few privileges in the other direction, and we will clear out."

BUYING OUT THE GOTH.

Well, you can have peace at that price, but do you know what it would be? The old policy of buying out the Goth, who eventually destroyed the Roman Empire and threw Europe into the ages of barbarous cruelties. Believe me, that policy had its undoubted advantages. I can hear the echoes of the pacifists of the day in the Roman forum dwelling on the fact that if they only buy out the Goths at a small price compared with the war, a little territory and a little cash, the Roman youth would be spared the terrors of war and their parents the anxieties of war. People of all ranks and classes would avoid the hardships of war, and be able to continue their lives of comfort and luxury and ease. The pacifists of the day, when they made their bargain, thought that they avoided bloodshed. They had only transmitted it to the children. You remember what the Roman Senator said of one of these bargains, which gave peace for the moment to the Roman Empire. He said, "This is not peace; it is a pact of servitude." So it was. If they had bravely and wisely faced their responsibilities what would have happened? Rome would have thrown off its sloth, as Britain did in 1914. Its blood cleansed by sacrifice, the old vitality and the old virility of the race would have been restored. Rome would have been grander and nobler than ever, its rule would have been more beneficent, and the world would have been spared centuries of cruelties and chaos. You can have peace to-day, but it would be on a basis that history has demonstrated to be fatal to the lives of any great Commonwealth that purchased tranquillity upon it.

I am told that if you are prepared to make peace now Germany, for instance, would restore the independence of Belgium. But who says so? There are men in this country who profess to know a good deal about the intentions of German statesmen. No German statesman has ever said they would restore the independence of Belgium. The German Chancellor came very near it, but the Junkers

WHEN THE WAR WILL END

forthwith fell upon him, and he was boxed soundly on the ear by the mailed fist, and he has never repeated the offence. He said, "We will restore Belgium to its people, but it must form part of the economic system of Germany, of the military and naval defence of Germany. We must have some control over its ports." That is the sort of independence Edward I. offered to Scotland, and after a good many years Scotland gave its final answer at Bannockburn. That is not independence; that is vassalage.

THE MEANING OF INDEMNITY.

Then there comes the doctrine of the *status quo*, no annexation, no indemnities. No German speeches are explicit on that, but what does indemnity mean? A man breaks into your house, turns you out for three years, murders some of the inmates, and is guilty of every infamy that barbarism can suggest, occupies your premises for three years, and turns round and says when the law is beginning to go against him, "Take your house, I am willing to give you the *status quo*, I will not even charge you any indemnity." But, you say, even a pacifist, if it were done in his house, would turn round and say, "You have wronged me. You have occupied these premises for three years. You have done me an injury. You must pay compensation. There is not a law in the civilised world that does not make it an essential part of justice that you should do so." And he says, in a lofty way, "My principle is no indemnity." It is not a question of being vindictive, it is not a question of pursuing revenge. Indemnity is an essential part of the mechanism of civilisation in every land and clime. Otherwise what guarantee have you against a repetition, against the man remaining there for three years more, and when it has got rather too hot for him clearing out and paying neither rent nor compensation? Why, every man in this land would be at the mercy of every strong-handed villain. There is no law, there is no civilisation in that. You could not keep the community together. We are fighting for the essential principles of civilisation, and unless we insist upon it we shall not have vindicated what is the basis of right in every land.

WHEN THE WAR WILL END

The same thing applies to Serbia. But they say "That is not what you are after. You are after our colonies, and Mesopotamia, and perhaps Palestine." Now let me put this to gentlemen who talked like that, if we had entered into this war purely for German colonies, we would not have raised our Army of three or four millions. We could have got them all without adding a single battalion to the Army we had, and if Germany had won elsewhere we should have defied the whole of her victorious legions to take one of them back. If we engaged in the gigantic enterprise it was not for German colonies. Our greatest army is in France. Which territory are we after there? We have an army in Salonika. What land are we coveting there? We are there to recover for people who have been driven out of their patrimony the land which belongs to them and to their fathers. "But," they say, "what is going to happen to these colonies? What is going to happen to Mesopotamia?" Well, if you like, take Mesopotamia. Mesopotamia is not Turkish, never has been Turkish. The Turk is as much an alien in Mesopotamia as the German is, and everyone knows how he ruled it. This was the Garden of Eden. What a land it is now! You have only to read that terrible report to see what a country the Turk has made of the Garden of Eden. This land, the cradle of civilisation, once the granary of civilisation, the shrine and the temple of civilisation, is a wilderness under the rule of the Turk.

BLASTING TYRANNY OF THE TURKS.

What will happen to Mesopotamia must be left to the Peace Congress when it meets. But there is one thing will never happen to it. It will never be restored to the blasting tyranny of the Turk. At best he was the trustee of this far-famed land on behalf of civilisation. Ah! what a trustee. He has been false to his trust, and the trusteeship must be given over to more competent and more equitable hands, chosen by the Congress which will settle the affairs of the world. That same observation applies to Armenia, a land soaked with the blood of innocents massacred by the people who were their guardians, and who were bound to protect them, and as the German

WHEN THE WAR WILL END

colonies are a matter which must be settled by the great international Peace Congress, let me point out that our critics talk as if we had annexed lands peopled by Germans, as if we subjected the Teutonic people to British rule. When you come to settle who shall be the future trustees of these uncivilised lands you must take into account the sentiments of the people themselves. What confidence has been inspired in their untutored minds by the German rule of which they have had an experience? Whether they are anxious to secure the return of their former masters, or whether they would rather trust their destinies to other, and juster, and, may I confidently say, gentler hands than those who have been governing them up to the present time. The wishes, the desires, and the interests of the people of these countries themselves must be the dominant factor in settling their future government. That is the principle upon which we are proceeding.

THE BEST GUARANTEE.

Is there any trace of any desire on the part of Germany, any indication of a desire on the part of Germany, to settle upon these essential terms? Where are the negotiations? In a speech which appeared in the Glasgow papers this morning—delivered, I think, yesterday—the Austrian Premier emphatically repudiated the principle that nations must have their destinies controlled according to their desires. Where is the common ground for peace there? Unless both principles are accepted not merely will there be no peace, but if you had a peace there would be no guarantee of its continuance, and it is important that we should never have this happen again. What will have to be guaranteed first of all by the conditions of peace that they shall be framed upon so equitable a basis that nations will not wish to disturb them? They must be guaranteed by the destruction of the Prussian military power, that the confidence of the German people shall be in the equity of their cause and not in the might of their arms. May I say that a better guarantee than either would have been the democratisation of the German Government. One of the outstanding features of the war has been the reluctance with

WHEN THE WAR WILL END

which democratic countries entered it, and the historian will conclude, in reviewing the facts of these last few years, that if all the belligerent nations had been ruled by Governments directly responsible to their peoples there would have been no war, and if the German Government's constitution becomes as democratic as the French, Italian, American, Russian, or British Governments' constitutions are, that in itself would constitute the best guarantee for peace in Europe and the world that we can hope to secure.

ELEMENT OF PEACE DISCUSSIONS.

No one wishes to dictate to the German people the form of government under which they choose to live. That is a matter entirely for themselves, but it is right we should say we could enter into negotiations with a free Government in Germany with a different attitude of mind, a different temper, a different spirit, with less suspicion, with more confidence than we could with a Government whom we knew to be dominated by the aggressive and arrogant spirit of Prussian militarism. And the Allied Governments would, in my judgment, be acting wisely if they drew that distinction in their general attitude in a discussion of the terms of peace. The fatal error committed by Prussia in 1870—the error which undoubtedly proves her bad faith at that time—was that when she entered the war she was fighting against a restless military empire, dominated largely by military ideals, with military traditions behind them. When that empire fell it would have been wisdom of Germany to recognise the change immediately. Democratic France was a more sure guarantee for the case of Germany than the fortress of Metz or the walled ramparts of Strasburg. If Prussia had taken that view European history would have taken a different course. It would have acted on the generous spirit of the great people who dwell in France; it would have reacted on the spirit and policy of Germany herself. Europe would have reaped a harvest of peace and goodwill amongst men instead of garnering, as she does now, a whirlwind of hate, rage, and human savagery. I trust that the Allied Governments will take that as an element in their whole discussion of the terms and prospects of peace.

WHEN THE WAR WILL END

I have one thing to say in conclusion. In pursuing this conflict we must think not merely of the present but of the future of the world. We are settling questions which will affect the lives of people not merely in this generation, but for countless generations to come. In France last year I went along the French front, and I met one of the finest generals in the French Army, General Gouroud, and he said, "One of my soldiers a few days ago did one of the most gallant and daring things any soldier has ever done. It was reckless, but he managed to come back alive, and someone said to him, 'Why did you do that? You have got four children, and you might have left it to one of the young fellows in the army. What would have happened to your children?' And his answer was, 'It was for them I did it.'"

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

This war involves issues upon which will depend the lives of our children and our children's children. Sometimes in the course of human events challenges are hurled from the unknown amongst the sons and daughters of men. Upon the answer which is given to these challenges, and upon the heroism with which the answer is sustained, depends the question whether the world would be better or whether the world would be worse for ages to come. These challenges end in terrible conflicts which bring wretchedness, misery, bloodshed, martyrdom in all its myriad forms to the world, and if you look at the pages of history these conflicts stand out like great mountain ranges, such as you have in Scotland—scenes of destruction, of vast conflicts, scarred by the volcanoes which threw them up and drawing blessings from the heavens that fertilise the valleys and the plains perennially far beyond the horizon of the highest peaks. You had such a conflict in Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the great fight for the rights of men to worship God according to their consciences. The Scottish Covenanters might have given this answer to the challenge. They might have said, "Let there be peace in our time, O Lord." They might have said, "Why should we suffer for privileges that even our fathers never enjoyed? If we win we may never live to enjoy the fruits

WHEN THE WAR WILL END

of it, but we have got to face privations, unspeakable torture, the destruction of our homes, the scattering of our families, shameless death. Let there be peace." Scotland would have been a thing of no account among the nations. Its hills would have bowed their heads in shame for the people they sheltered. But the answer of the old Scottish Covenanter, the old dying Covenanter Cargill, rings down the ages, even to us at this fateful hour, "Satisfy your conscience, and go forward."

THE CHALLENGE AND THE CONFLICT.

That was the answer. That conflict was fought in the valleys of Scotland and the rich plains and market-places of England, where candles were lighted which will never be put out, and on the plains, too, of Bohemia, and on the fields and walled cities of Germany. There Europe suffered unendurable agonies and miseries, but at the end of it humanity took a great leap forward towards the dawn. Then came a conflict of the eighteenth century, the great fight for the right of men as men, and Europe again was drenched with blood. But at the end of it the peasantry were free, and democracy became a reality. Now we are faced with the greatest and grimmest struggle of all—liberty, equality, fraternity, not amongst men but amongst nations; great, yea small; powerful, yea weak; exalted, yea humblest; Germany, yea Belgium; Austria, yea Serbia—equality, fraternity, amongst peoples as well as amongst men. That is the challenge which has been thrown to us.

Europe is again drenched with the blood of its bravest and best, but do not forget these are the great successions of hallowed causes. They are the stations of the cross on the road to the emancipation of mankind. Let us endure as our fathers did. Every birth is an agony, and the new world is born out of the agony of the old world. My appeal to the people of this country, and, if my appeal can reach, beyond it is this—that we should continue to fight for the great goal of international right and international justice; so that never again shall brute force sit on the throne of justice, nor barbaric strength wield the sceptre of right.

